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821 192 slightly to the west of *tokelau* is termed *mao tokelau wakatiu*; one blowing slightly to the east of *tokelau* is *mao tokelau matua*. A wind that chops and changes to several points in the same day is called *matangi tilivale*; a wind that shifts to another direction to blow steadily for a week or so before changing back again is *matangi tautako*; a wind that shifts and blows only for a day or so before changing again is *matangi tautakataka*. As certain winds are valuable as two-way winds in sailing across the lagoon and back, the winds are classified: two-way winds (*matangi alalua*) from Wale to Motu Kotawa are *malangai* and *wakatiu*, from Wale to Motu Ko they are *mauake* and *palapu*; one-way winds (*matangi alatayi*) from Motu Kotawa to Motu Ko are *tokelau* and *wakalua* and the wind for the reverse journey is *yulu*.

821 787 324 Various beliefs are held about the relation of the weather to other phenomena. Black clouds (*kapuao uli*) low on the horizon, accompanied by thunder (*matitili*), are a sign that fresh fish have come inside the reef. A vigorous electrical storm was formerly considered to portend a time of violence. It was also believed to be the gods' warning of coming punishments for violation of tapus. When lightning (*uila*) strikes the ground or a tree [847] or when a meteor (*mata wai kava*) appears to strike the island, this is a sign that a woman has conceived a child in incest and has had an abortion or miscarriage in order to avoid a shameful pregnancy.

A rainbow (*uauna*) breaking through black clouds and a stormy sky is a sign that the bad weather has been broken by the bars of the rainbow and will soon blow away. A rainbow cutting through the clouds in a dull sky is a sign that turtles have come to the outer beaches, or that a shoal of fish is outside the reef. If the bonito fleet is fishing and the people see this rainbow, they comment that the fishing will be successful. A rainbow seen in the early morning or late afternoon is a sign that albacore fishing is good. [613] For chiefly succession in the Muliwutu lineage the successful aspirant is the one who can make a rainbow appear in the sky when he strikes with his right hand on the sacred stone of the worshiping enclosure (*awanga ya*).

If the wind blows hard from the southeast, then moderates and swings round to the northeast, this is a sign that flying fish are abundant. When red streaks appear to shoot up to the middle of the sky at dawn, this is a sign of heavy rain and hot weather to come. A halo or house round the sun (*te uale no te la*) signifies heavy rain on the following day.

If Yina, the woman in the moon (*maina*), is clearly outlined and easily seen, this means fair weather; if she is dark and obscure, a heavy sea will make fishing difficult. The crescent of the new moon turned toward the north means fair weather throughout the moon; the crescent turned to the south is a sign of bad weather; the moon lying on its back presages hot 821 weather. An eclipse of the moon or sun (*maina kaina, la kaina*) is caused

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wahawowine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*po*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

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[421] 613 423 311 [344] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the taio beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Leto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *houses* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Leto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *pa i Tua*. The names of these divisions (as *houses i te kainga kolo*) are: Te Pa, Taikainga, Te Wolo-i-te-kilikili, Te Aunga. Four divisions (as *houses i te kainga ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipuka *pa*. Their names are: Te Uta, Wolo-kolosi, Te Wenu, Te Pungua.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Nima in the western section of the village.

421 613 241 428 The coconut trees, taio beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

433 613 692 Each section (*kainga*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *pilimanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the section on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or taio beds or be said to own houses sites on the lots.

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The boundaries between the lineage sections and between the homestead lots are well marked by stones, coconut and *pukamo* trees, and graves of ancestors. There is no record that a guard similar to the *pule* was used to protect these boundaries, which are nevertheless well known, well kept, and respected.

If a boundary tree dies or is blown down, another is immediately planted in its place and tended until it becomes an efficient boundary marker. People of the lot use only the trees growing on their own household lots for domestic purposes. If a nut drops from a tree growing on a homestead boundary and falls on the land of the next lot, it must be procured at once. If it is allowed to remain to grow into a tree across the boundary, the tree belongs to the man on whose land it grows. A person in theory has the right to keep nuts that have fallen on his property from trees growing across the boundary, but this is rarely done.

At the death of the household head, his house site and nut trees descend in the paternal line. The children of the deceased act as joint owners of the property through the trusteeship of the eldest male of the family. A man or a woman who may marry and live away from his or her paternal lot still has a claim to the nuts grown on the lot and expects to draw nuts from that lot in an emergency. Children of a man residing matrilocally retain an interest in their father's paternal lands. Children do not normally inherit coconut trees from their mother. According to Mitimoe, it was formerly the custom to divide coconut trees among men, giving them to women only when there were no sons in the family, but the custom today is to share coconut trees among both sons and daughters so that none will ever be deprived of nuts.

In former days, a well was sunk on each homestead lot for the use of the households living on the lot. Three lots in Yato still have their own wells, each used by the people of the lot. Others may draw water from these wells, but through courtesy right only, I think. If the water level in the well is low, outsiders drawing water are regarded with a somewhat unfriendly eye.

No story or legend is remembered which relates how the lineage sections or lots were originally formed. Pau believes that the paternal lineages of Ngake held *tutuhi* contests at various times to settle boundaries, and cites as evidence the very irregular boundary lines. Loto informants have no memory of *tutuhi* for the Loto sections, and add: "The Loto sections are so small and short, running across Wale as they do at its narrowest part, that they would not be worth quarreling about—the gain to one paternal group at the expense of the other would be so slight."

As a matter of speculation, it is likely that originally the people of the same paternal lineage congregated together on the same piece of land. Cemeteries would be placed there and boundaries marked off. Thus sections of land would come to be associated with certain lineages. But through patrilocal marital residence and personal choice,

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[591] 423 613 people other than blood members of the lineages would come to live on the sections. To protect the food supply of its own blood members, the lineage might well make the rule that certain nut trees were to be shared among all associated with the constituent lineages through blood, marriage or choice; whereas only members of the lineages by blood or adoption might plant and own trees on the *kave* section. This would prevent the removal of wealth from blood members of the lineages by friends and distantly related affinal relatives, who might come to live on the section. The land is thus effectively owned in common by the lineage corporation, though sole right to the produce of the trees remains with individual members of the corporation.

613 423 244 428 616 Both paternal and maternal lineages, the *ɸo* and the *una*, control small sections of talo beds. There is no legend as to the origin of this control. These beds were probably dug first on land controlled by the paternal lineage or by the maternal lineage if the maternal descent group was originally a more important unit of social organization, as evidence seems to indicate. Then, as new paternal or maternal lineages were set up by the breaking away of men and women from the basic groupings, certain talo lands were transferred to the new, minor lineages, from those controlled by the major group. The twenty-three talo gardens on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages are all named. These gardens are divided among male and female members of the lineages. In the next generation, children retain a share in the mother's maternal lineage beds, but receive no shares in the mother's paternal lineage beds. Similarly, they retain shares in the father's paternal lineage beds, but none in his maternal lineage beds. The talo lands are controlled by the lineages as corporate entities, and are redivided from time to time to include new members of the corporation.

Individual Property

421 556 422 226 The wealth objects controlled by the individuals are few. A man may own a house and a house site, a canoe, fishing gear and implements, clothing, pearl-shell ornaments, trees, and talo beds. A woman owns mats, prepared pandanus, ornaments, trees, and talo beds. Small canoes, one-piece dugouts or plank canoes, are owned outright by one man. Larger canoes which have required much time to make and wealth to finance are owned by household groups, or groups of closely related kin. The oldest man of the kin group is spoken of as the nominal owner of such a canoe, but all the members of the group refer to it as "our canoe". If relatives or friends wish to use the canoe, they ask permission of the nominal owner. A young man who does not possess a canoe of his own borrows one from a friend. When the fisherman returns, he gives fish, usually the best and biggest of his catch, to the owner of the canoe in payment for its use. The fish reserved for this payment is termed *ika ya* (sacred fish). When one man is invited to accompany another in a fishing canoe, there is an equal division of the catch and no payment of *ika ya* is expected from the guest member of the canoe.

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[501] Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lasi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukana* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukana* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukana* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukana* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Urupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*lai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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431 574 621 527 262 [621] [623] 431 574 527 262 613

on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*, as *lavaya kavea* (crabs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamalienga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *menotanga*.

5. *Kevehave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wate, *taumayanga*, and *puaki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *vaikinua*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puia wale* and *hukihunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lakiuva*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

Inua kai o te vaa is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Laumatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingalinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fresh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *yionga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have initi-

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mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

Formerly, the group of elders (*tupuke*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *taukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangaaga* group of fishermen (p. 261) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*aumaga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

Fire (*auē*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau ika auē*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ikoiko*, and to make fire thus is *moto auē*.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*vahamanea* or *mea vahalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*tahoue*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *hito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went 796 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta- 613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The 643 garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo- kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumulangi, was made of nested two-ply twisted 7 78 sennit and called *epa hupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting 776 the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *walo* fiber (*epa walo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa laulihi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *lo hupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays [787 828] in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorised person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata hepa* or *taumata alihi*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Filato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ⅜ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Loupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulow*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau hotawu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyen. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *W'elo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamanga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Mamgatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yui*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *tauwakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

The *titi muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*iito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the taio swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularise these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*piongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pota*) of the priests in the god house (*usuie atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*usuie matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*alibi usuie* and *wasi alibi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*oukatane, oukatanaine*), a young man or woman may change (*suke*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

613 884 [578] No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *suke* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 152 626 558 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 616 The *wuu* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sublineages each of which is called a *heinanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *wuu* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *wuu* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wuu* means the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

613 616 124 773 The origin of the *wuu* was discussed with informants on several different

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occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the wwo:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiete. Ko ye taku lolei na mo lunga i na, me na Tumulivaka, me na Matalíki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanou loa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wai ika gau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tiga, te kaven, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wai tapua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a lua ko te wai ika o te wenua, ko te wai tapua a lunga o te wenua. Kua nano latou i lunga o te wenua, nana latou i na yunga kikina.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiete. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Matalíki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[*]

Lili loa te wenua, ko Matalíki. Lagai loa li te tala mai lunga o te langi. Mimiu loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimiu loa na toe tamaliki, wakale lou li loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te gau, te wonu,—te wai ika,—mimiu li loto o te moana; mimiu li loto o te ulo: mai te bilitawaki, te atoakaua, te tiwitiwi, te yuna, te kaimanai, te tau kaiotí,—ko te wai ika i loto o te ulo. Yau na toe tama a lua, ulu li lalo o te wenua, mai te laupa, te unga, te kaven, te kiole, ko te wai tapua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a lua, wakale ulu li na lunga manano i na toe pa wenua, nanai: wekele lalunga o te tiawwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kalili, te polopolitunga,—te wai manu o wekele la lunga. Wanou ai te wananga o te mango, o tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te lagoa o te wwa o latou, ko *te* wwa o Te Mango. Pele oki te tama a te tawola: wwanou oki te tawola tama tama, o tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola la, na wwate ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wwanou i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tana lagoa, Te Mango o Te Wai Tawola.

Lili loa te wenua, ko Matalíki. Lagai loa li te tala mai lunga o te langi. Mimiu loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimiu loa na toe tamaliki, wakale lou li loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te gau, te wonu,—te wai ika,—mimiu li loto o te moana; mimiu li loto o te ulo: mai te bilitawaki, te atoakaua, te tiwitiwi, te yuna, te kaimanai, te tau kaiotí,—ko te wai ika i loto o te ulo. Yau na toe tama a lua, ulu li lalo o te wenua, mai te laupa, te unga, te kaven, te kiole, ko te wai tapua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a lua, wakale ulu li na lunga manano i na toe pa wenua, nanai: wekele lalunga o te tiawwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kalili, te polopolitunga,—te wai manu o wekele la lunga. Wanou ai te wananga o te mango, o tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te lagoa o te wwa o latou, ko *te* wwa o Te Mango. Pele oki te tama a te tawola: wwanou oki te tawola tama tama, o tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola la, na wwate ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wwanou i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tana lagoa, Te Mango o Te Wai Tawola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiete. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Matalíki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[*]

The god Matalíki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Rinectus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *bilitawaki*, the *atoakaua*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yuna*, the *kaimanai*, the sea *kaiotí*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *laupa* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their wwa was given, the wwa of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Mango o Te Wai Tawola (the branch of the whales).

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[*] The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the homosexual propensities of their land.

Ko te tipuanga o te Wea Lolo: Ko te uaa ko te vavine no lolo anei ana. Ko vau, e tupu anei ai te tangata. Waiuaa ai lea, tupu ai tangata. E vau ia no te Pukapuka. Pe ia ehi an tuaa a Punga Monoto: e vau ehi te upoi ko tupu anei ai. Tupu lea te vau, ko te Wea Lolo.

Waiuaa ai an tuaa a Te Manga, e te tangata i lunga o te vaiuaa nei: ko Te Lolo, e tamavine an Te Manga; ko Velua, ko te lua tamavine a Te Manga; e ko manga an Te Manga. Waiuaanga i a Lolo lana uvanga, tupu anei. Pela ehi i a Velua.

Ko Te Tuvale, lua vaiuaa tamaliki Te Tuvale: Ko Te Yolo, ko te tuvaa tuaa a Te Tuvale; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te tuvaa tuaa a Te Tuvale. E lua an tuaa a Te Tuvale, ko Te Yolo ma Te Manu. Pua ai an tamaliki a Punga Monoto ne vaiuaa o te vaiuaa.

Ko an tamaliki a Punga Monoto an nuu lei ngutuu: Ko Te Kuli, ko Pukapuka te tuu, ko Malauna te tuu, ko Te Lauvale te tuu. Ko te tuvaa tuaa a Punga Monoto, Te Kiole. Ko te tuu, Kauakava. Ko te vaiuaa a Kiole, vaiuaa anei ai te tangata; pela ehi te vaiuaa a Kauakava, pela ehi te vaiuaa a Pukapuka, pela ehi te vaiuaa a Malauna, pela ehi te vaiuaa a Te Lauvale. Kua vaiuaa a laua tamaliki vaolo lei lunga o te vaiuaa. Kua vaolo te tangata lei lunga o te vaiuaa.

As to the growth of the Wea Lolo: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called uaa. Like this were the children of Punga Monoto: it was A uaa also which grew from them. The uaa grew, the Wea Lolo. (This included both the uaa of Te Manga and the branch of the Tuvale.)

The children of Te Manga, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lolo was a daughter of Te Manga; Velua, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Manga. Lolo produced her offspring; they grew. Velua did the same.

As to Te Tuvale, Te Tuvale had children: Te Yolo was one child of Te Tuvale. The branch of Te Manu (the bird) was another child of Te Tuvale. There were two children of Te Tuvale, Te Yolo and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Monoto born of the uaa.

(These are) the children of Punga Monoto who left island, (that is) the Kuli: Pukapuka was one, Malauna another, Te Lauvale another. Another child of Punga Monoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kauakava. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kauakava, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malauna, and also the children of Te Lauvale. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

Note: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Monoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Manilili were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Monoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the fauna of their new environment, heathen and decent, and their names

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613 [539] became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

773 616 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures; hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 773 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 773 611 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*kainanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*kainanga*, *momo*, or *nanga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Loloa c. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	d. Pukapuka e. Malemu f. Lawala g. Walawale
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Mango—Keinanga	h. Kava i. Lokie j. Yeitae
	4. Wua Tawola—Keinanga	k. Yalo l. Yelu m. Manu

Informants tended to visualize the matter in terms of a tree with spreading branches and limbs (fig. 53). The names of the sub-lineages as given in this figure represent a final decision by informants. Other lists, procured at an earlier period of field work, differ a little in the given names. A second list of lineages and sub-lineages, probably for a later date when some sub-lineages had died out or were displaced by other named groups, is given below. The first list is probably the classic list; the second is the grouping as some understand it today.

Wua Kati (moiety)	1. Wua Uila—Keinanga	a. Kiole b. Kenakena
	2. Wua Kati—Keinanga	c. Malemu d. Lawala e. Pukapuka
Wua Lulu (moiety)	3. Wua Lulu—Keinanga	f. Mango g. Kava h. Lokie i. Yeitae j. Lakawanga
	4. Wua Layo or Yalo—Keinanga	k. Yelu l. Tawola m. Manu

An analysis of the lineage membership of 160 adults showed 89 members of the Wua Lulu, 69 of the Wua Kati, 1 of Layo, and 1 member of Yalo.

The individual who first gave his membership as Wua Layo, Keinanga Tawola, later gave his affiliation as Wua Lulu, Keinanga Kava. Sixteen who said they belong to Keinanga Lakawanga gave Lulu as their major maternal grouping; one member of Keinanga Lakawanga gave Yalo as his major maternal grouping; this last is either a mistake or else Wua Lulu is to be understood as moiety Lulu, which is more likely. The three persons who gave their grouping as Uila, Keinanga Kiole, are brothers and a sister; a third brother said he was a member of Wua Kati, Keinanga Kati. Kati was given as the major maternal grouping of 16 other members of the Keinanga Kiole; here again Kati must have the sense of moiety. The point to note, however, is that the large majority, 155 out of 160, gave as their *wua* either Lulu or Kati, thus giving the very definite impression that these two groupings are still functioning in Pukapukan society as effective moiety groupings of the maternal lineages.

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Each of the 160 adults professed membership in one of 12 different sub-lineages (this excepting the person who gave a double identification, first, Layo, Tawola; then Lulu, Kava). The active sub-lineages in the moiety Lulu are: Mango, Lakawanga, Yelu, Kava, Yeitae, Loicie; those in the moiety Kati: Kiole, Pukapuka, Kenakena, Lawala, Kati. The relative numerical strength of the sub-lineages is: Kava (L) 36; Yelu (L) 24; Kati (K) 20; Kiole (K) 18; Lakawanga (L) 18; Pukapuka (K) 12; Kenakena (K) 11; Mango (L) 7; Lawala (K) 5; Yeitae (L) 4; Loicie (L) 4. The relative numerical strength of these sub-lineages might possibly be altered by adding in figures from Loto village, but, because there seems to be an equality in the village distributions of the sub-lineages, the relative strengths would not differ materially from the serial order given above.

Twenty individuals gave their affiliation as Keinanga Kati, Wua Kati, either because they did not know their sub-lineage and gave only their moiety, an unlikely matter, or else because some individuals claim descent through a major maternal lineage directly and not through any sub-lineage. When the smaller groups were formed by the breaking away of lineages, some individuals remained members of the original wua grouping, so that the four wua must be considered both as groupings of smaller sub-lineages and also as single lineages in their own right. This single wua descent is noted for both Kati and Mango in the above list of membership strength. No examples are on record for Tawola or Lulu, but doubtless they do occur also.

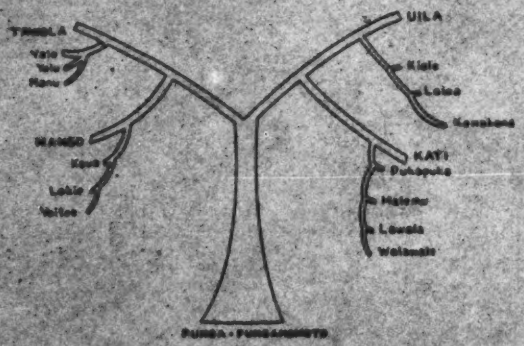

FIGURE 33.—Branching of maternal sub-lineages (*kelanga*), from informant's drawing. Main trunk of tree represents total population; main branches four main groupings of maternal lineages (*wua*); remaining smaller branches, individual sub-lineages.

The wua membership of the 38 heads of households in Ngake village was noted; 16 belong to the Lulu division, 20 to the Kati division. This shows a reasonable amount of moiety equality, and seems to indicate in fact that there is no tendency to either moiety or lineage localization. This is presumably explained by the rule of patrilocal marital residence.

The internal organization of each maternal lineage is simple. The head (*tuakelanga* or *tuakelalo*) of the lineage is the oldest man or woman in the

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group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *mueke* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Puanau Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *kei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uriuru* and coconut trees were linked with the Luiu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai tuale*, "house eating" or *kai hiho*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of tapu, but the goddess Tuna or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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transferred to the smaller sub-lineages, took the place of exogamy in moiety and lineage. As long as there was one lineage in the *una*, the *una* was exogamous. When many sub-lineages developed within the *una*, the sub-lineage still remained exogamous but not the lineage, since blood relationship was closer, owing to consanguinity, within the simple sub-lineage than within the wider grouping. This is admittedly speculation, but it explains the manner in which the fundamental pattern of exogamic matrilineal groups, so widespread in western Oceania, may have developed in the evolution of Pukapukan society.

The maternal lineage functions as a unit in fishing and sporting contests, and in certain types of food divisions. (See pp. 231-232.)

Some informants believed that the four major lineages divided into two moieties (each called for this purpose *toakatoi*) once formed fighting units occasionally opposed to each other. Such a moiety fighting force had no organization and was commanded by a selected warrior (*toa*). Other informants stated, however, that there is no record in Pukapukan history of such fighting as this arrangement would suggest, with all the men of the island engaged in pitched battles. This is certainly true; Pukapukan fighting in general seems to have been a matter of one age group tyrannizing over another group, petty murders, guerilla revenges, and killings by violent chiefs. More important conflicts over land boundaries were always decided on a village basis, with no scope for moiety division. It is possible that moiety divisions for games and contests were at one time more customary than single lineage divisions, and the belief about fighting units is merely an extension of a type of organization, which, in terms of Pukapukan patterns, represents the most reasonable division to cover warfare were it ever a matter of importance to the community.

Today the maternal sub-lineages, not the lineages or moiety groupings of lineages, have effective economic functions in the control of land, principally the control of talo beds. The talo beds owned by a sub-lineage are divided among both male and female members of the sub-lineage. There is no permanent subdivision of these talo beds; but they are divided at regular intervals as composition of the sub-lineage corporation is altered by birth and death. The ultimate controlling unit of the sub-lineage land is, of course, the major lineage; when a sub-lineage dies out, the talo beds are redivided among the remaining sub-lineages of the group.

Formerly the sub-lineage assumed collective responsibility for antisocial actions voluntarily or involuntarily performed by its members. This is clearly brought out in historical stories relating to homicide (1). When a man commits manslaughter such that the island as a whole concerns itself with retributive punishment, his maternal sub-lineage either allows itself to be punished along with the guilty individual or else assumes responsibility for the punishment or suicide of the murderer. When punishment by drowning is decreed, members of the sub-lineage may feel the disgrace so keenly that they will bury the body secretly by night, even though in so doing they oppose majority opinion and would be severely punished themselves if discovered. That it is always the maternal and not the paternal sub-group which is charged with responsibility in these matters, stresses the strength of relationship ties based on maternal descent.

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PATERNAL LINEAGES

There are seven principal paternal lineages in Pukapuka. Each lineage is a *po*. The word *kainga* is used synonymously with *po*, but informants thought this usage modern. The term *po* is also applied to the burial ground associated with each paternal group. Other meanings of *po* are "night" and the "Underworld". When a man talks of his *po*, he means his paternal lineage and the piece of ground where he will be buried. The importance of the burial ground as giving a symbolic locus of reference for the varied functions of the lineage is shown by the fact that when asking the paternal lineage membership of a person one does not say: "What is his *po*?" but, "Where will he be buried?" (*Ka tanu i wea?*) The answer always provides the name of the burial ground. On the other hand, in narrative the name of the *po* is always used as an adjective to indicate paternal descent affiliation, as, "Ko Pakula, e tane Matanga" (Pakula was a man of Matanga *po*).

Membership in a paternal lineage is by birth or adoption. An individual is buried in the cemetery of his sociological father. A woman is buried in the cemetery of her father; her children, male and female, are buried in the cemetery of her husband. Each of the paternal lineages is divided into a number of smaller paternal sub-lineages called *wakavae*. Each major cemetery of the lineage is divided into a corresponding number of sections, also called *wakavae*. Hence a man and his children belong to a *po* but also to a *wakavae*. The *wakavae* may be regarded as a paternal sub-lineage, the *po* as a grouping of paternal sub-lineages into what is here termed a lineage. A final list of Pukapukan lineages and their sub-lineages is as follows:

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Villages	Paternal Lineage (Po)	Paternal Sub-lineage (Wakavae)
Ngake	Muliwuta	Yalou, Aliki, Alia
	Matanga	Paku-i-tua, Te Manako, Waka-moe-ki-te-loto, Angialulu
Loto	Yangalipule or Tilotilowia	Wakavae-ki-mua, Yangalipoupone, Yamanaia
	i Tua	Wakavae Aliki, Wakavae-ki-muli, i Tua, Walanga-kula
Yato	Yamanga	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-ki-muli
	Yayi	Tokelau, Matanga
	Yalongo	Wakavae-ki-mua, Wakavae-muli-vae, Walegia

Note: Various lists of the lineages and sub-lineages were collected during our stay. The above list represents the names procured toward the end of our visit, and is a clarification of earlier lists. As with the names of maternal lineages (*wua*) and sub-lineages (*kainanga*), there was a progressive clarification in the minds of informants as our investigation proceeded. Common, uninstructed opinion tends to confuse paternal lineage and sub-lineage, a natural tendency, perhaps, to promote one's sub-lineage to the status of a lineage. It is likely that the relative numerical strength of lineage and sub-lineage, and also their status, have fluctuated during the course of Pukapukan history owing to natural causes and to the predominance of certain personalities at certain times.

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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to tuha*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to tuha*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and he herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. These siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the 764 story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 613 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public 177 health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has 364 seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited 182 cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*nui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langa-* 192 *tila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *nui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *mataiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

413 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller 618 units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*wua* 621 unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

611 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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period, organization was in terms of either *sua* or *yolonga* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yolonga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1931, p. 237), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wowine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *mulivaka* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tungaga* fishing group.

All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *uvanga* (*malae*) *o te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*aliki wolo*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te aliki wolo o Te Ulu-o-te-aute* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

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te uni aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te kau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*uolo*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*uolo*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yulo*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yulo* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Mafiwutu	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yafanlipule	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamatanga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matuiapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki uolo*), seven other chiefs (*matuiapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Moliwutu	Two matalapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants 643 believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were 602 approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*auanga*) 565 of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of 643 the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

644 The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *nukeyunos* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any 643 side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

643 In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. 644 Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which in- [133] cludes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukavu*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te alibi* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *vakakawvale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite. From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale ya o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

> The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *welo* berries, a headband of *welo* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki feklo", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "UP", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*ume*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*talua te vai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Kia* wai mafi wenia | Let the clusters of nuts be full (?) |
> | Kia wewelo te wawa | Let the taro tubers grow big |
> | Kia tautangatanga | (Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (thus he may answer this request) |
> | Kia matala te ika | Let the fish be numerous |
> | Kia pi ki te tai | Let (feces) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten) |
> | Ke ako te wawa | Until the land stinks |
> | Kawe ya te tangata | Countless the feasts for the people |
>
> After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koe tauyalu wea koe ki nea" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leoni* or *tauta*). She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as mullet; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place Matuia, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yiongo olo* (not to be confused with *yiongo maoli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked on it to show herself (*aukayaui*) to the populace. Then the commoners

* Kia, an archaic particle used in petitioning requests to the god.

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613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e makamaama te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

562 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Muliwata lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

597 The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late chief, or to an adopted son (*ao kokoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yasa*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yasa*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakunyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakunyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakunyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakunyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hupe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clear and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shouting with each every leaf before it touched the ground.

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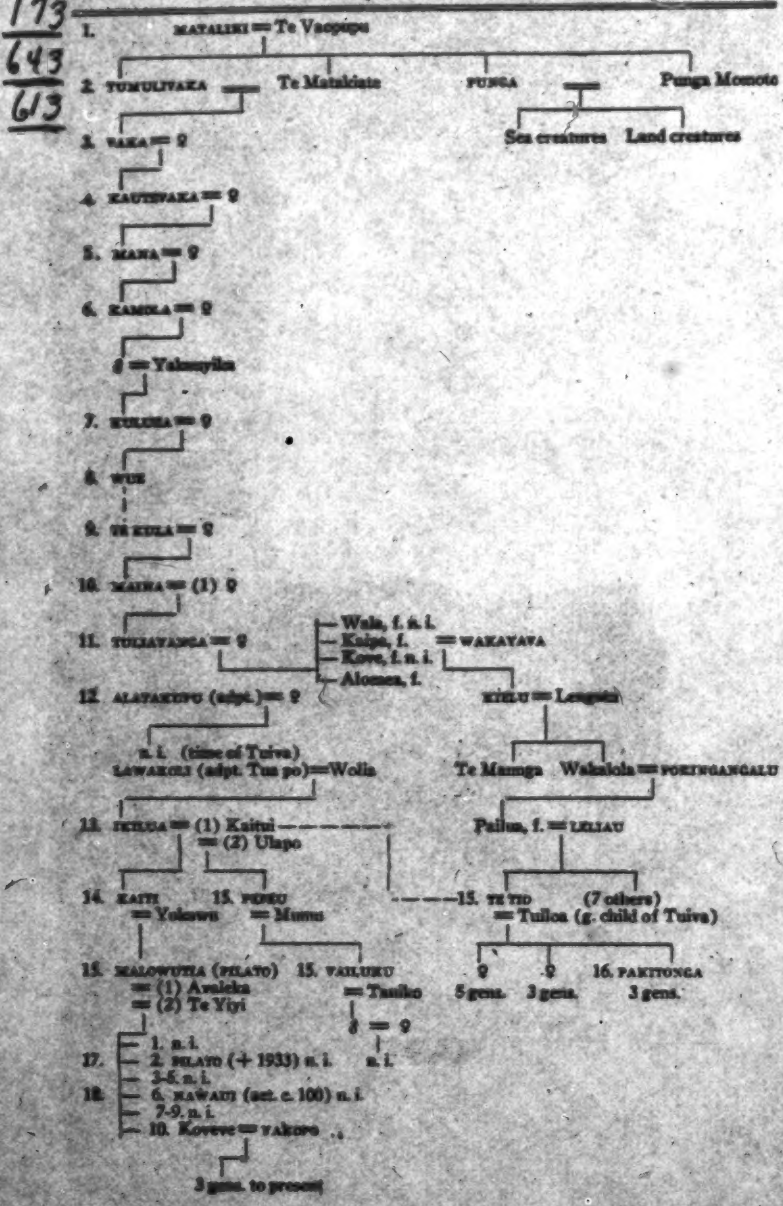
Table 4. Aliki Succession



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613 643 173 773

The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tauaiiki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevaiu sent by the chiefs of Yayake (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wanguna assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, tapu-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wanguna was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wanguna rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

613 643 173

Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pwua muua*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

[669]

When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tufa-

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Taliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatikupu. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office, to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[622] Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Taliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yuka*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Manihiki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

[721] When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawani, a man now about 100 years old. Nawani insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawani's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

613 643

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613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.

643 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were 692 given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage. 643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*uuu*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people [826] and for their vigorous old age, unmarked by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a *tapu* person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

A distribution (*laukava*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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613 made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the
643 reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

613 In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various
642 lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to
613 this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so
643 were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Tuna, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the
711 island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

623 The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be sum-
646 marized as follows:

631 Village meetings (*unuhopono kolo*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult
643 males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*unuhoponongo no te tupole*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*unuhoponongo a te ua aliki*)
645 discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these
[177] governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupole*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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the chief's executive (*uvia*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vonenga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*tangatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second, from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*koloti*, to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wongai*, to feed). The adopting parents are *matua koloti*, the child *tama koloti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wongai*, the child as *tama wongai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-226.)

The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent) have at some time been adopted by the *koloti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama koloti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wongai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wongai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama koloti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama koloti* is their tender age: they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meas-

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while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama hokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama hokoti* is adopted before birth:

> When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama hokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provisions for her family whenever there is a food division.
>
> The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.
>
> Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, malos, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama hokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama hokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wongoi*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

> Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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577 giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples 431 which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

597

Adopting Parent	Child	
PATERNAL	KIKOTI	WAWAE
1. Father's brother	4	-
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	-
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	-
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	-
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	-
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	-
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	-
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	-
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	-
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	3	-
15. Father's mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	2	-
Father's adopted paternal relatives:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	-
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	-
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	-
MATERNAL		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	-
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	-
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	-
Mother's paternal relatives:		
23. Mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	11	-
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	-
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	-
Mother's maternal relatives:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	-
Mother's adopted maternal relatives:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	-
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	-	1
Totals	77	14

591 The census records three examples of adoption of *tama kokoti*, the adopt-
613 ing parent then giving the child (*kave te tama*) to another paternal lineage not the parents' own.

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To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama hoketi* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama hoketi* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama hoketi* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yoosi*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*usi tusahi*).

[583] It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a unique elopement to a distant sand bay, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

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In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*uwa*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama hoketi* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama hoketi* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama hoketi's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

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[611 613] 547 maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama hokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua hokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. [842] In fact, the *tama hokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 593 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

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day (one or two *palo* or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tangata* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tangata* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

Seclusion

Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitau tukuyoni*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

> Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*uale kaitau*) for each sex. The *uale kaitau* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*pulpui te uale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *pulaka* and *lau kefatau* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*taute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with sennit, left the house at night to evacuate. The beach they went to was referred to as the *wahu uale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitau* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decorated with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitau* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitau lukipoko*):

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613 884 788 When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

884 591 575 In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

591 575 A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[1]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[1] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

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582 613 Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keinanga*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

[616] Table 9. Intermarriages Between Maternal Lineages*

		Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
		Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yeitae	Lokie	Kiole	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
	KEINANGA												
WUA LULU	Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
	Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	1	3	—
	Yeitae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lokie	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WUA KATI	Kiole	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
	Pukapuka	—	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
	Kenakena	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	Kati	—	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—
	Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

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582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*uale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*waka-wesi*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*fe*) of the chief. They were called *tonir* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *puapua* wood called *te auri o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*alou*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*aui*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

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776 114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 613 562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Taua nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Taua stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Taua, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Taua* (birds of Taua). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Taua would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Taua was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Taua prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

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Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*po valu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*nuhovus*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *lauhavo* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

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Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yamaunga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a taio swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

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[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

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Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

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Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

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Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776

821

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

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Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

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shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

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Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaehua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

776 822 192 193

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

776 613

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *seuu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Cults

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*aukatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*peyua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

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powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Tetoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te wauiua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu maugota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te veyi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or *tihitihi*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villages, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-lolea-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-ha-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*unkomalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Tuna and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

The god house (*wale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*auanga ya*), and the cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kawa*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakavae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yionga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was *tapu*. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

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sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale
			Vakayala
			Kui-mamila
	Muliwutu	Tumulivaka ma Muila	
		Te Vayi	
		Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakinte ma Malokitelangi ma Tumailangi	
		Te Alongaoa	
		Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui
			Te Atua-ngutu-uli
			Poiva ma Taukava
			Wakakewiti
	i Tua	Mataliki ma Tamayei	
		Te Ulu-takapau	
		Tupole	
		Tama	
	Yangalipuke	Kui	
Yato			i Te Umutulele
			i Lowia
			i Kailia
	Yamanga	Te Maungatu	
		Tumalanga	
	Yalongo	Tawitonga	
		Te Mangamanga	

Material Representation of Gods

The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (NGA) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Tama; this is a big block of *punga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

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that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *uoto*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata toi atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*ta*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*uukayuuinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*uukayuuinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *toi tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*uukayuuinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

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lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate antisocial conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wahatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taua, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Soul

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamoo* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*ensunga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the man of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who,

533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant
[613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance,

1103	Te yikuanga i [illegible]	
6311	Te yikuanga i [illegible]	three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po
7344	Te yikuanga i Te [illegible] o Kui	Yangalipule
	Te yikuanga i Matanuma	two divisions near the
	Te yikuanga i tai o te	present church and school,
	pupa	on kawa of po i Tua.
	Te yikuanga i Te Au	three divisions between the
	Te yikuanga i Te	school house and the cause-
	Limutini	way on the kawa of the
	Te yikuanga i Wallapia	Yato po.
	Te yikuanga Ia ngutia	the names for former
	Te yikuanga Ia tai	divisions of the motu of
		Niua in the western ex-
		tension of Yato.

1103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
6311 by the people of Ngake:
7344
te ui [illegible]
te ui matautu
te ui a tupele
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te
ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows
nearby
te ui o te [illegible]
te ui yikuakala
te ui te yulu
te ui tuva
te ui i te alo o kaiyua
te ui o te vai matua
te ui tua yulu
te ui o kumuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokalua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are
communally owned by Lotu:
[illegible] welo
Malo pala
[illegible] inu
[illegible] uv

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 621 244 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are communally owned by Loto:

Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei

These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 613 244 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:

Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Muliwutu

Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga

Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)

Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula

Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula

Te leiloa ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole

Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nangutu, belongs to wua Kati.

Wenua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango

Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

103 Te ui Palea, has three unnamed sections,
213 1. belongs to po Yamaunga
244 2. belongs to po Yayi
3. belongs to po Yalongo.

Ui vai tiale has two sections, 1. belongs to wua Kati
2. belongs to wua Mango

Ui Matanga, belongs to wakavae Matanga of Yato

Ui Motu Kotawa, belongs to Yamaunga po (despite its name, this ui is on Wale)

Te ui a Lelei, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui a Wale, belongs to Yalongo po

Te ui Puatu, belongs to members of keinanga Kava livinging in Yato

Te ui a yaukava, in three sections
1. belongs to keinanga Kava
2. belongs to keinanga Puka-puka
3. belongs to keinanga Malemu

Te ui muli olo te ui taulangi belong to wakavae Walepia

103 The following are the names of individually owned talo beds
244 on Wale (ui tangata taki tai) and their owners:

Te ui i te kulaanga tupele,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui muli avaiki,	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui te vai	belongs to Angaino of Yato
Te ui loimata	belongs to Teani of Yato
Te ui o Yoko	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui a Pulaola,	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui longotuli	belongs to Kolangi, Yato
Te ui tua	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui nonu tavake	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui tupanau	belongs to Taulia, Yato
Te ui aniwa	belongs to Pania, Yato
Te ui talikai	belongs to Taiayeu, Ngake
Te ui mokolokele	belongs to Ulua, Loto
Te ui o Te Yoa	belongs to Matautu, Loto
Te ui ayi	belongs to Tala, Yato
Te ui o Kalelea	belongs to Kaia, Loto
Te ui tokelau	belongs to Uitai, Yato
Te ui a Pikula	belongs to Pikula, Loto
Te ui o Kuluea	belongs to Kuluea, Loto
Te ui o Te Layo	belongs to Kaitui, Ngake
Te ui vaitawe	belongs to Puia, Ngake
Te ui longolongo	belongs to Nalupe, Ngake